THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

August 20, 1949

PACIFIC PACT OUTLOOK

AN EDITORIAL

The Chinese Woodcut

Israel Epstein

New People's Court

C. Y. W. Meng

The Takeover Period

A Report By Mayor Chen Yi

US ECONOMIC QUANDARY

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

One Reader's View

To The Editor:

It's really disheartening to read your editorial, "To Our Readers" in the August 9 issue of the Review. First you gave us your temporary difficulties and then some hard-to-crack and "complex" problems which may force the Review to disappear. It doesn't seem right to say that the need for the Review is "much less great" after the liberation of Shanghai though you do put the "need" for the Review forth from another angle. I am of the opinion shared by your other Chinese and foreign friends that the Review can serve as a bridge between the New Democratic China and the West, especially now that the whole country will soon be liberated.

Before the liberation we had four big capitalistic English newspapers and only one weekly—the Review—dealing with topics of current interest in Shanghai and China. Now that three of these newspapers have gone out of business, and the one still publishing is colored with capitalist dyestuff, I am proud that the Review is still with us with the same progressive, revolutionary features and figures which characterized it for the long past.

I hope that the Review can do something worthwhile both for the New Democratic China and for the peoples abroad who want to have an exact interpretation of China's new tide—which task I think no other magazine or newspaper now in existence in the Far East is more qualified to do.

D. C. LEE.

Shanghai,
August, 8, 1949.

Tremendous Task

To The Editor:

The editorial expression of uncertainty over continued publication of the Review, now the only American paper in Shanghai and North China, brings some of us American cover-to-cover readers in Tientsin to a re-evaluation of your timeworthy paper. We have cheered you on in your realistic view and frank presentation of the people's problems in the face of reactionary opposition and political as well as economic difficulties.

Liberation has come to most of China —through the dauntless courage and self-sacrifice of the valiant Liberation Army and by the suffering and privation of the lao pai hsing who were waiting in hopeful anticipation for their shackles to be stricken off. Brute terrorism of the Kuomintang has been ended in most of China, it's true; but the fearless Communist soldiers have laid down their lives for more than this. They spilled their blood, as they themselves told me, that the people of China should change into cooperative, honest, useful, civic-minded and independent citizens of the New Democracy, and that their country should become a sovereign self-respecting nation. Until their aims have been realized, you of the Review have a

tremendous task of interpretation still before you. There are too many Chinese and foreigners who have yet to grasp the spirit of the times and to know that this is a government of, by, and for the people. Responsibility of government has never fallen heavily on the Chinese people in Kuomintang areas. Few foreigners appreciate the complex of the impact—that the Chinese, liberated, can no longer sing the song of the peasant under the dynasties:—

When the sun comes up I arise,
When it sets, I rest
What have I to do with the Emperor?

We witnessed scenes of unbelievable valor—columns of heavily burdened soldiers fighting with rifles and grenades against Kuomintang machine gun nests hidden in the houses of Tientsin; handfuls of Communists disarming companies of Nationalists—kindly, seemingly with the attitude of dealing with prodigal brothers. There were brave civilians, too. I remember a refugee, quilt over shoulder, leading his family toward town and whistling merrily as he marched. I wondered where all the refugees would sleep that icy night, but I particularly wondered about the one who whistled so gayly.

Now the price has been paid, but let's see to it that the suffering and bloodshed have not been in vain. I hope the Review will pioneer in an effort to bring about and preserve the ideology for which our Liberators have pledged their lives.

Incidentally, I noted the name of one of my Lingnan University schoolmates among your correspondents. Greetings to Fellow Exchange Student Hugh Deane of Tokyo!

BETTY CHANDLER CHANG.

Tientsin,
August 11, 1949.

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Vol. 114 Shanghai, Saturday, August 20, 1949 No. 12

Pacific Pact Prospects

WITH the issuance of the American White Paper on China, the question of the formation of a Pacific Pact by the anti-communist governments of Asia has again risen. Prior to the issuance of the White Paper, which, while bitterly condemning the Kuomintang for its failures, also set the US on record as being hostile to the new regime in this country, it was generally believed that America did not favor a Pacific Pact drawn along the lines of the Atlantic Pact. Now, however, since the American position regarding China has become somewhat more clarified, it appears that the US is interested in seeing the formation of a Pacific military and economic alliance against communism in Asia.

US Secretary of State Dean Acheson, in his letter to President Truman, published simultaneously with the White Paper, clearly stated that America not only was not prepared to adopt a friendly attitude toward the new China, but was planning an actively hostile policy. Acheson said that the American government believed that eventually the Chinese people would rise up and throw out the present government, which he termed the agent of Russian imperialism. He then said: "I consider that we should encourage all developments in China which now and in the future work toward this end."

It is perfectly obvious that this is an appeal to revolt aimed at the Chinese people in that it promises encouragement to all Chinese who might be tempted to rebel against the new regime. Having gone on record in such fashion, it is difficult to see how Acheson can continue to make statements to the effect that the US does not meddle in the internal affairs of other countries.

Acheson then laid down a challenge to the Chinese people. He promised them, in effect, friendship and help if they would revolt against the new government and, in effect, warned them of difficulties if they failed to do so.

He said: "In the immediate future . . . the implementation of our historic policy of friendship for China must be profoundly affected by current developments. It will necessarily be influenced by the degree to which the Chinese people come to recognize that the Communist regime serves not their interests but those of Soviet Russia and the manner in which, having become aware of the facts, they react to this foreign domination."

The meaning of these two sentences is quite clear. First he says that America's "traditional" policy of friendship will be "profoundly affected" by the change in regimes in China. If the policy in the past has been one of traditional friendship, we may assume that now this is no longer true. If this were all he said, we might assume that the policy, while not friendly, might not become unfriendly—it might just become neutral or indifferent. However, he charges that the new regime in China is actually the agent of Soviet Russia and that it will not serve the interests of China, but will, in effect, make China a stooge of Russian communism. It thus appears that so long as China's new government stays in power, the policy of the United States toward this country will be hostile.

This isn't all, though, for he goes on to lay down a flat challenge in which he warns that any expansion of communism in Asia, or any change in the status quo among China's neighbors, will be considered as foreign aggression and will likely result in war.

He says: "One point, however, is clear. Should the Communist regime lend itself to the aims of Soviet Russian imperialism and attempt to engage in aggression against China's neighbors, we and the other members of the United Nations would be confronted by a situation violative of the principles of the United Nations Charter and threatening international peace and security."

The point—that is, the real one—is indeed clear. It is obvious to all that military aggression by any country against a neighbor would be in violation of the charter and thus would constitute a threat to peace. This we all know and it is not necessary to point it out at this time. However, if one is to set up his own standard as to what constitutes "aggression" then perhaps it is necessary to bring the matter up. Since Acheson has said that the American Government considers that the new regime in China is merely the agent of Russian imperialism, it then becomes clear that any success by native Communists in other countries of Asia will be considered as Russian aggression, coming via China.

In this laborious fashion Acheson reasons himself around to the position where he can claim that any attempt of the people of Korea, the Philippines, Indo-China, Burma, or other countries of Asia to rise up against their foreign and native rulers is really external aggression initiated by Russia. Thus, Acheson puts the United States on record as favoring the present status quo throughout Asia and as being prepared to view any change in this status quo as an act of external aggression by the Soviet Union and or China, thereby constituting a threat to peace. In short, Acheson is threatening Asia with war if there are any further governmental changes.

It is interesting to see how Acheson, in the space of only two or three paragraphs, issues a call to the Chinese people to revolt against their government by telling them that America's traditional policy of friendship for China depends upon their doing so, and then terms any spreading of Communist ideology as Russian national aggression which must be resisted by force, perhaps even by war. He seems to be saying, "It's perfectly okay for me to meddle in your affairs. In fact, if you don't do as I tell you, I'm going to get mad. What's more, if you refuse to take my advice and persist in clinging to your present ideas some of your neighbors may become favorably impressed thus making it necessary for me to fight you in order that my views will prevail over yours."

* * *

THUS, we find the ground prepared for the initiation of a Pacific Pact, or some similar arrangement under a different name, which will have as its chief object the preservation of the status quo in Asia. Ex-generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who now serves as the "horrible example" of what may happen to a government subjected to Russian "aggression," has been touring Asia attempting to line up support for the idea. Chiang has visited the Philippines and Korea. In both places he has issued joint communiques with the heads of state condemning communism and declaring that the "free" nations of Asia must band together to resist this form of totalitarian aggression.

Philippine President Elpidio Quirino, following his meeting with Chiang, made a trip to the United States to consult with President Truman and other American leaders over the various problems confronting the Philippines and the other "free" nations of Asia.

Since there seems to be little doubt but what some sort of Pacific Pact is in the making, it should be interesting to examine the more likely participants so as to make an estimate of its potential strength.

Japan, of course, cannot be brought in at this time since she is still technically an enemy nation. This is, perhaps, a serious weakness since she is the only nation of Asia with a well developed industry capable of supporting a first-class war machine. Possibly this may be remedied later on.

Next is South Korea, a recently proclaimed democracy. Korea is a divided country, with a Communist-led regime exercising leadership in the north. The southern half, ruled by Syngman Rhee and a group of

his old friends, bears many striking resemblances to China under the Kuomintang. Political opponents are assassinated, the prisons are full, reporters are jailed, the economy is shaky and the country lives off an American dole.

The Philippine Republic also bears some striking resemblances to the China of Chiang Kai-shek and the Korea of Syngman Rhee. The leadership is small, composed of a relatively tiny group of men broken up into warring cliques. "Bandit" suppression campaigns are the order of the day. The economy is inflationary and is being kept from going bust by prodigious sums of American money regularly pumped in.

Indo-China, another candidate for membership in the Pact, is a somewhat different proposition. It is still under the nominal control of a foreign colonial power, France. The administration is corrupt, while the native leadership is of the puppet variety. A revolt is in full swing and the French and their puppets manage to hang on only by the skin of their teeth—and this largely because of dollars from America, which come via Paris in the form of ECA grants to war-ravaged France.

Burma, another possible member, is beset with revolts and counter-revolts. The countryside is unsafe since large parts of it either are occupied outright by rebel forces or are infested with guerrillas. The Burmese foreign minister, U Maung, is at present touring Britain and America seeking monetary and material aid for his government. An indication of the essential similarity of the Burmese government's thinking to that of Kuomintang China's was contained in a press agency dispatch from Geneva last week which reported that the Burmese delegate refused to sign the new international Red Cross convention calling for the protection of civilians during civil disturbances because of the nature of the current "disturbances" in Burma.

* * *

THE United States is a rich country. Because of this she can afford gradually to assume the responsibility of supporting more and more rotten governments which are engaged in attempts to put down popular uprisings of their own people. However, there is a limit even to America's wealth. Also, there is a limit to what money can buy. Acheson admitted this in his aforementioned letter. He said:

"The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the Government of the United States . . . It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not . . . "

From where we sit it looks as if America soon may be faced with a whole string of "little China's" extending all the way from South Korea to Burma. As was demonstrated in China, neither money nor guns can help a government which, because of its inefficiency, corruption, and venality, has lost the support of its people.

Thus we come to the only answer, providing, of course, that the United States is determined to preserve the present setup: Active American military intervention. America could probably occupy South Korea, or the Philippines, or Indo-China, or even Burma. However, it is doubtful if she could occupy all of these places. What's more, it would be extremely unlikely that such a policy could be undertaken without risking a new world war.

This is something we believe Acheson and Truman should consider seriously before they commit the American people to the support of a Pacific Pact, a military alliance with what is probably the poorest and most inept bunch of allies a nation could have.

Not Massacred, Just Eliminated

The French Government according to a news agency dispatch from Paris, has denied the charge made in America by Dr. Liston Pope, dean of Yale University's Divinity School, that French colonial troops massacred 60,000 Madagascans when they put down a rebellion on the island in 1947. In an official reply to Dr. Pope's charges, the French government stated that while it was true that about 60,000 Madagascans perished in the revolt, the French killed only about 10,000 to 15,000, the rest dying merely of starvation.

US Economic Quandary

DESPITE the statements of assurance by people such as US Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, there have been indications for some time that America's economy was getting a bit shaky. This, however, is not to say that a full scale depression may be expected in the immediate future, although there are some observers who have long predicted that the United States is headed for the biggest bust in its history.

As long ago as last May the *Associated Press*, in a story from Washington, stated bluntly that an increasing number of Americans were getting worried since "factory employment dropped in April for the seventh straight month." This dispatch, which based its statements upon official US Bureau of Labor statistics figures, said factory layoffs reached a postwar high, while the weekly earnings of workers declined more than US$1 per week in April from the previous month's average.

In June *Reuter* reported from Washington, in a story based on official US Census Bureau statistics, that "unemployment jumped 273,000 in May to a new postwar peak of 3,289,000." Later the same month the *Associated Press* reported from New York that US business generally was registering a downward trend. While stating that its own nation-wide survey revealed no cause for general alarm, the agency admitted: "Unemployment rolled up postwar highs in many areas. . . The rising curve and swelling relief rolls have resulted in some states passing depression-style relief laws and in some cities reviving 'work relief' projects."

In June *Reuter* reported from Washington, in a story a survey it conducted indicated that unemployment was likely to continue rising. The story then went on to quote Senator Joseph O'Mahoney as saying that the public should not be alarmed by these unemployment figures as they were misleading and did not give a true picture of the situation. He explained the cause of the unemployment in terms of a rapidly increasing population.

What comfort Senator O'Mahoney's "analysis" may have given the people was, however, relatively short-lived since just last week Mr. Willard Thorp, US Assistant Secretary of State, stated in Geneva that "total civilian employment dropped from 61,600,000 in July 1948 to 59,700,000 in July 1949." Assistant Secretary Thorp, however, looked on the bright side by comparing employment figures for 1949 with 1939. Following this same line of reasoning, Assistant Secretary Thorp said that although the general index of industrial production in June 1949 was 13 percent lower than the postwar peak reached in the autumn of 1948, it was still 55 percent higher than the level of 10 years ago.

Here we have the interesting spectacle of two men, both responsible public officials—telling the people not to worry about the obvious slip in the nation's economy because if one just looks at the matter from the proper point of view, the difficulty turns out to be non-existent. Senator O'Mahoney says that there are about as many people employed as usual, but that there is the impression of a growing slump only because the population is increasing and that the unemployed are made up of new potential workers who have just reached employable ages. Then along comes Assistant Secretary of State Thorp who upsets the Senator's first assumption by admitting that there are almost 2,000,000 less people employed today than this time last year. Mr. Thorp makes it even worse by trying to take comfort from the "progress" since 1938, pointing out how the production index today is higher than a decade ago. It is interesting to note that in stating that the US industrial production index was 55 percent higher than 10 years ago, Assistant Secretary Thorp failed to inform his audience that during this very same decade US industrial production capacity rose exactly 66 percent. Fifty-five subtracted from 66 leaves 11, which represents a comparative percentage decline in production in 1948 as compared with 1938.

* * *

GRANTED that unemployment is rising, wages are down, and the gross national production has declined, one may wonder just what has happened. Some observers of the American scene have declared that it is because prices and profits have become so high and wages so low

that the average wage earner—who ultimately is the guy who buys the merchandise—simply does not have enough money to purchase the things he makes. Such reasoning has been denounced in many quarters as nonsense, while upon occasion it has been termed communist propaganda designed to undermine the basic structure of American democracy.

According to reports carried by the news agencies, which have yet to be named as communist front organizations—even by the Un-American Activities Committee—US profits for 1948 reached record highs. According to *AP*, American corporations have paid larger dividends so far this year than they did last year, which was considered the all-time boom year for American business. In the first three months of 1949 total dividends paid out were eight percent above the same period a year ago. These "high dividends," *AP* stated, "have helped slow up the decline in personal income this year which has fallen monthly to an annual rate of US$213,700,000 in April."

Now it is obvious that if total personal income, which means a man's income from all sources—salary, investments and other savings, etc.—has fallen monthly while returns from investments are at an all time high, salaries must have taken quite a nosedive.

Since steel is usually considered the industrial barometer, what is happening in this industry should serve as a reliable indicator. So far as press coverage goes, all the major US steel companies have reported record or near record profits. US Steel, the giant, revealed that its earnings for the first three months of 1949 were nearly the highest in 20 years. In announcing new dividend payments, Irving S. Olds, chairman of US Steel, said that business looked good and that the company hoped to continue these extra dividend payments.

When asked concerning the possibility of lower steel prices in view of the record profits and the recent sharp declines in scrap steel quotations, Olds, according to *AP*, "said the corporation is not contemplating at this time any reduction of prices in the immediate future." This story was datelined New York, May 12.

From Pittsburgh on May 22, the *Associated Press* sent out a roundup of the forthcoming wage talks scheduled to open between US Steel and the CIO, representing the company's workers. "The union," *AP* stated, "is expected to confront company representatives with charts and graphs showing record earnings in the steel industry last year. The trade magazine, *Iron Age*, said income rose 32 percent in 1948 over 1947 levels. In reply the steel companies can give drops in consumer prices as indicating a return to a lower cost of living. . . . They may also contend earnings in 1949 have little chance of duplicating the 1948 marks."

Here, again, we have an interesting situation in which there seem to be some contradictory statements. On May 12, Chairman Olds proudly announced that because of record profits the company was paying extra dividends. Some two weeks later the same company, according to *AP*, was also expected to resist its employees' demands for increased wages on the basis that the future looks gloomy and that it would thus be unwise to entertain suggestions of a wage increase. . . . .

Actually, the company's second position proved to be more nearly correct, although one might suspect that the decline in business came as somewhat of a shock to Chairman Olds who so confidently predicted, on May 12, continued extra dividends for his stockholders. On June 25, AP, reporting from Pittsburgh, told of a growing slump in the steel business. "Steel prices," it said, "are shaky. . . The big producers have been banking (closing) blast furnaces and open hearths because of lack of orders. About 50,000 workers have been laid off. . . ."

It would thus appear that those who have maintained that the slump is connected with industry's high profits—which have resulted directly from extra-high prices and relatively low wages—are right. Although a steel worker may not be a direct customer of the blast furnace where he works, he certainly is an indirect one in that when his wages are sufficiently high so that he has money left over after buying his food, clothing, and other essentials, he purchases refrigerators, washing machines, automobiles and a host of other articles made largely of steel.

This, though, is only part of the picture. The most important aspect is yet to come. Faced with the prospect of depression, what will industry, labor, and the government do? A lot depends upon the answer to this question. Even such important matters as continued peace or the outbreak of World War III may be decided by how the Truman administration meets America's growing economic crisis. Next week we shall continue to discuss this subject, giving such facts and figures as are available which may indicate which way the wind is blowing in America today.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Floods Add To China's Woes

August 16, 1924

To China's many woes of late the heavens have made a most serious addition in the almost incessant rainfall which has descended on most of the provinces of China since early July. The loss of life and property which has already resulted from the devastating floods following the rains has been sufficiently terrible, but the immediate calamity will be paled to insignificance by the famines which are certain this coming winter unless adequate relief measures are devised and carried out with the utmost dispatch.

The provinces worst affected are Chahar, Suiyuan, Chihli, Shantung, Honan, Szechuen, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwangtung. . . .

* * *

Soviet Recommendations On Boxer Money

We find on the one hand that Ambassador Karakhan, having some right to express an opinion on behalf of the Russian indemnity, tells the representatives of the Teachers' Union of the eight Government Colleges and Universities that some part of the money his government is to return might profitably be utilized for the study of the conditions of the farmers of China, thus paving the way for the improvement of rural life.

Naturally all this is condemned as but a bit of Bolshevist propaganda—an attempt by Russia to dictate how the Boxer Indemnity shall be used. Propaganda or not, Russia certainly has as much right to suggest how the remitted indemnity shall be used as has the United States, which specified education, although in indefinite terms. . . .

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

"Wiped Out" Guerrillas Still Fight

August 19, 1939

"Organized guerrilla resistance to the Japanese forces in the Shanghai areas has been completely wiped out," a spokesman for the Japanese Army stated at a press conference here on August 12. But the same day his claim was made, according to a Japanese Army spokesman quoted by *Domei* two days later, "guerrillas concentrated about six kilometers southeast of Peihaokiang, 30 kilometers west of Shanghai on Soochow Creek, were routed by Japanese forces in a surprise attack." The Chinese abandoned 31 dead, while the Japanese took one prisoner and seized 18 rifles, two pistols and 850 rounds of rifle ammunition, it was claimed. . .. .

* * *

Shanghai's Rice Famine

Japanese seizure or purchase—with Hwa Hsing notes—of all rice grown by Chinese farmers within a radius of 80 to 100 miles of Shanghai has produced the worst rice famine ever experienced in this section of China. The situation, has become so serious that the authorities of the International Settlement are contemplating the purchase of large quantities of rice from French Indo-China. . . .

The New People's Court

C. Y. W. Meng

THE Shanghai People's Tribunal was formally inaugurated on August 11 at an impressive ceremony attended by more than 200 renowned jurists, city government officials and representatives of various organizations.

The occasion marked more than the physical opening of the court. It signalled the beginning of a new type of law and justice in China. As Deputy Mayor Pan Han-nien pointed out, the old law in China could be summarized by the proverb, "If one has no money, he should not go to court, though he may have every reason to win the litigation." The new People's Court says, in effect, "If one has no money, that is all the more reason why he should be given the opportunity to take his grievances to court."

Accordingly, the Court is placing litigation within the reach of everyone's pocketbook. Should a person be unable to afford lawyer's fees, he may go free of charge to the information service of the court and there have his petition drawn up, paying only the cost of the paper on which it is written. The information service will also give advice to those who have legal problems or who do not know about the law or court procedures.

Legality as such, however, will not have an important role in this new court. In the case of disputes, the emphasis is on mediation, and only after efforts to reach an amicable settlement out of court fail will a case be brought to court for a decision.

On the wall of the Court is hung the slogan: "The way for the People's Court to offer mediation in disputes is not to eliminate disputes in order to save trouble, but to find out who is right and who is wrong and to carry out this policy thoroughly."

Policy of Persuasion

The Court also intends to use educational efforts to help the people who come before it distinguish for themselves between right and wrong. This, it is felt, will aid in the process of mediation and will also help to reform lawbreakers.

"Regarding the disputes among the people," Mayor Chen Yi explained in a speech at the inauguration ceremony, "The Court will adopt a policy of persuasion by convincing the parties to the dispute of what is right and what is wrong in order to effect a mediation and to reunite them.

"As for the obstinate elements who violate the law or infringe on other people and who still refuse to repent, the Court will put them under restraint. But the way to do this is through education to make them repent and behave properly."

The purpose of the Court has been defined simply as the protection of the people's rights and privileges. And the new provisional civil and criminal procedures promulgated at the time of the opening of the Court are notable for their simplicity.

Article 2 of the new procedures, known as "Provisional Regulations Governing the Disposal of Civil and Criminal Cases" provides that the disposal of cases should be based on the actual situation and according to the outlines, laws, orders, regulations and resolutions promulgated by the People's government and the People's Liberation Army, as well as the policy embodied in the new democracy.

Court decisions are to be based on evidence given by witnesses and in documents, as well as that gleaned from investigation conducted by the Court. Article 10 stipulates that, in rendering judgment, special attention must be paid to the collection of all possible evidence and combined investigation and analysis work on the case. A judgment may be rendered in the form of a consultation among judges or by a single judge, according to the nature of the case. In the case of consultation, a small section of judges shall be formed and a unanimous vote is required. If unanimity cannot be reached, the case must be referred to a judgment committee for decision. In cases where the judgment is to be rendered by a single judge, he must consult with the small section of judges beforehand regarding the general principles of the judgment. When a judgment is rendered, copies are to be delivered to the parties concerned.

Disposal of Cases

Articles 20 and 21 of the new procedures deal with the disposal of civil and criminal cases. All cases, both civil and criminal, which have hitherto remained undecided shall be decided or mediation shall proceed in accordance with the provisions stipulated in the new procedure. All cases, both civil and criminal, which have already been decided, irrespective of whether they are final or not or are beginning to be put in force, shall be carried out by the Court according to the old decisions.

In civil cases, when an old decision is regarded as involving no injustice or as not endangering seriously the interest of the state and the people, it is to be referred to the Execution Department of the Court for enforcement. However, if the contrary is true, the case is to be reviewed and a new decision rendered.

In civil cases, when an old decision involves the punishment of a political prisoner belonging to the revolutionary elements, he is not to be punished but is to be released at once. However, if the old decision is considered in conformity with the revolutionary order, it will be upheld and be referred to the Execution Department for enforcement. If the decision involves imprisonment of less than five years with hard labor and fine, the defendant may be released on bail, according to the circumstances. For those who have already been released on bail, if there is no evidence to show that they have repeated the same offense, the enforcement of the decision may be temporarily suspended.

If a defendant can produce fresh evidence to show that an old decision is not fair, the case must be reviewed and a new decision rendered.

Litigation Fees

Litigation fees are very light. For litigations involving marriage, guardianship, and labor-management disputes, there is no charge. In disputes over property rights where the property is valued at less than JMP300,000, there also is no fee. For property over that value, the Court will collect a fee at the rate of JMP15 per mille.

In the past, the Chinese civil and criminal procedures came to more than 1,000 articles. The new provisional procedures contain only 23 articles. Like all economic and financial laws and regulations promulgated by the People's government in the various areas, these judicial procedures are characterized by their brevity. In a country where illiteracy is still very high, it is indeed of the greatest importance to make every law and regulation brief, concise and understandable to the people.

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THE TAKEOVER PERIOD

Text of a Report on the Work of the Shanghai Military Control Commission and the Shanghai People's Government for June and July submitted by General Chen Yi, Mayor of Shanghai, to the Shanghai People's Conference, August 3, 1949.

IT has been over two months since the liberation of the whole of Shanghai on May 27. I wish to deliver the following report on the work in the past two months on behalf of the Military Control Commission and the People's government.

I wish to speak on the following points: (1) the liberation of Shanghai, (2) two months of taking-over work, (3) the basic activities during the military control period and (4) future activities of the Military Control Commission and the People's government.

I hope that you gentlemen will give us criticism after hearing my present report.

* * *

Liberation of Shanghai

THE People's Liberation Army crossed the Yangtze River on April 21. On April 23, it liberated Nanking and on May 3, it liberated Hangchow. After that, the army devoted itself to reorganizing and preparing for the battle for the liberation of Shanghai.

On May 12, the battle on the outskirts of Shanghai was started. On May 24, our two army groups in the east and west converged on the Woosung fortifications and succeeded in blockading the port, thus completely cutting off the road for the retreat of the enemy. The general offensive was started on May 25 and two days later, the whole of Shanghai was finally liberated. In the course of the operations, 230,000 enemy soldiers were annihilated and 150,000 were captured or surrendered.

All the high ranking officials of the bogus Shanghai Municipal Government had fled long ago. The acting mayor, Mr. T. K. Chao, led the rest of the municipal government staff in hoisting the white flag for honorable surrender to the People's Liberation Army. This form of surrender is indeed excellent. It shows that the criminal regime of Chiang Kai-shek could not bring away its government personnel; it contributes to the orderly transfer into the hands of the people of all the archives, documents, public utility equipment and belongings from the days of the defunct Shanghai municipal council, through the Japanese enemy occupation to the KMT period.

The present form of surrender testifies to the greatness of the Eight Points formulated by Chairman Mao Tze-tung and Commander-in-chief Chu Teh and shows that the People's government can permit old government personnel to work for the People's government and give them a chance for reform and work. This form of surrender possibly and undoubtedly will be developed in the southwestern and northwestern provinces, including Taiwan.

The liberation of Shanghai was achieved after bloody warfare and the overcoming of difficulties. The defense of the Chiang Kai-shek bandits in Shanghai was long prepared. By making use of modern buildings and industrial equipment and materials in Shanghai, the bandits built up an outer defense line, a main defense line and a nucleus defense line. Five thousand concrete pillboxes, 3,000 US-type mobile forts and over 10,000 semi-permanent field operations works were built up around Shanghai. For every pillbox, three to nine auxilliary defense works were made.

In conquering these difficulties, the east-wing army group of the People's Liberation Army sustained over 1,000 deaths and injuries for the capture of every such well built fortification after May 20. During the three days of fighting from May 22 to May 24, the west-wing army group in Pootung had to dash as many as nine times for the capture of a single defense work for the closing of the Woosung Port against the joint attacks by the enemy naval, ground and air units. Such are typical instances of the bloody warfare for the liberation of Shanghai.

Meanwhile, our southeastern and western army groups, pushing eastward from the western bank of Tai Lake and South Anhwei, marched over 1,000 li in 10 days in spite of the inclement weather, coming to assist their brotherly forces in Shanghai.

The manner in which the difficulties were sustained by the People's Liberation Army combatants was most praiseworthy: heavy machineguns, howitzers and guns as well as large quantities of arms and ammunition had to be transported by infantry on foot. Their movement over 1,000 li of muddy and filthy land was exceedingly heavy. For instance, all our army men and officers from the rank of battalion commander to that of army group commander had to walk for over one month from the Yangtze crossing to the suburbs of Shanghai. Their endurance is praiseworthy.

Chiang Kai-shek's bandits claimed that the defense of Shanghai was "33 percent stronger than the defense of Stalingrad" and that "six months to one year of defense will turn the tide of the war from defensive to offensive." The Chiang bandits intended to destroy Shanghai by means of evacuation, destruction, robbery and extortion. But because of the swift movement and advance of the People's Liberation Army and of the effective protection of schools and factories by the people of Shanghai, the damage it has sustained was comparatively slight.

The principal lesson to be learned from these achievements is that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and depending upon the labor and wisdom of the Chinese people, all difficulties can be conquered and victory be achieved. In the liberation of Shanghai, this lesson was applied; and in the reconstruction of Shanghai, the same lesson will be repeated.

Since the liberation of Shanghai, difficulties caused by the enemy blockade have been many-fold, over which a small portion of the people, I know, has shown considerable pessimism, doubt and even complaint. The fact that I have just revealed the lesson of how Shanghai was liberated might prove to be beneficial. How can we expect to build up a new Shanghai without conquering difficulties?

* * *

The Taking-over Work

SINCE our crossing of the river for the liberation of Nanking and Shanghai, preparations were made for the taking-over of Shanghai by forming various special committees to study different problems and to learn things from those who know Shanghai well. We know that in taking over such a metropolis as Shanghai, we must patiently learn. We divided the whole taking-over work into four categories: (1) political affairs, (2) military affairs, (3) financial and economic matters and (4) cultural and educational affairs.

We therefore put each of the bogus Central government organs and Shanghai municipal government organs into one of these four categories for unified taking-over. During the military control period, all organs of the bogus Shanghai municipal government were gradually to be transferred to the People's government while enterprises and affairs not under the control of the bogus city government, such as those of the bogus Central government and various bogus provincial and municipal governments, are now being taken care of by the Military Control Commission in preparation for future transfer to the Central government and the various provincial and municipal governments.

We at first divided the taking-over work into three main steps: taking over, administration and reform. In general, the taking-over work included transfer, checking-up and taking-over. Our main task and aim was to take over without causing disorder and without affecting the continued normal administration during the military control period. In this phase, most of the KMT reactionary system remained with very little change.

In the period of administration, the main task was to continue the study and investigation of the situation and begin gradual reform and reorganization. During this period, those suitable would remain while those unsuitable would be dismissed. What remained of the KMT reactionary anti-

revolutionary system was discarded while a people's democratic system was established.

In the period of reform, the main task was to emphasize the complete or large-scale liquidation of the reactionary system of the Kuomintang and establish a new political structure of the people's democracy on a solid foundation.

In the political and military affairs spheres, large-scale and total reform was to be made in line with the traditional excellent military and political systems of the liberated areas. The economic and cultural sections were to preserve those parts which are beneficial to the people and consistent with the laws of science and to wipe out those portions which are detrimental to the interests of the people and inconsistent with the laws of science. Thus, it may seem that the economic and cultural aspects of taking-over are comparatively smaller in nature than the political and military aspects. But this refers only to the business and technical aspects of the work, for in the economic, industrial and cultural spheres, the basic policy must naturally be identical with the political and military spheres, namely, the people's revolutionary policy in lieu of the KMT reactionary clique's anti-people's reactionary policy.

The following organs have been taken over: Bureau of Finance, Public Health, Public Works, Public Utilities, Education, Land Administration, Civil Affairs, Police and Social Affairs, Food Rationing Department, Archives and Documents Committee and the city government itself with ten departments such as the Departments of Investigation, Personnel, Secretariat, Accounting, Press, Foreign Affairs, General Affairs and Public Relations.

Over 49,000 employees and workers composed the staff of these organs. With the exception of the Investigation and Personnel departments, most of whose staff had either fled or gone underground, over 95 percent of the staff in other bureaus and departments remained at their jobs and continued their work as usual, waiting for arrangement and employment.

We have disbanded the bogus Social Affairs Bureau, in which place an Industry and Commerce Control Department and a Labor Bureau have been formed instead. We have abolished the Food Rationing Committee, to be replaced by a Shanghai Food Company for the supervision of the supplies of foodstuffs. In addition, a Housing Supervision Department has been formed to liquidate and allocate premises and a Foreign Affairs Department has been established to supervise the affairs of aliens, the latter being formed on the basis of the organs taken over of the foreign relations agencies of the bogus Central government.

The organs taken over include those of the bogus KMT city government and of the bogus Central government in Shanghai. There are altogether 411 units, including banks, factories and godowns, whose properties included 24,600 ounces of gold, 360,000 silver dollars, $21,000,000 million bogus gold yuan notes, $240 million bogus Taiwanese dollars, 35,000 tons of Taiwanese sugar, 470,000 piculs of foodstuffs, 18,000 motor cars in various states of serviceability and 48,870,000 gallons of gasoline. With these organs were 153,000 employees.

Educational organs taken over include: 26 units of higher education with 2,796 professors, lecturers, research fellows, teachers, employees and workers and 8,109 students; 503 units of municipal educational institutions with 5,517 faculty members and workers and 176,412 students; 58 units of military controlled news publishing institutions with 2,314 employees, (of which 25 are newspapers and news agencies, 30 book-stores and printing shops and three broadcasting stations and machinery shops); 13 units of cultural organs, with nine cinemas and four theatres with 173 employees and 165 technicians.

All the private-owned universities, middle schools and primary schools have not been taken over or put under military control, as detailed measures will have to be mapped out as soon as a national educational supervision organ is established.

In the work of taking over military affairs, five departments have been formed; namely, training, political affairs, rear service, air force and navy.

Against the enemy ground units, annihilation on the front replaced the taking over; thus what remains is to clear the battlefront and to dispose of the captives. There were 38 enemy troop quarters, most of which were destroyed. According to estimates by experts, preliminary repair of these quarters would cost as much as People's Bank $10,000 million. With a view to economizing public expenditures, the People's Liberation Army formed a volunteer labor force from its army and repaired the destroyed quarters.

The training department took over only several military schools, all of which were empty broken buildings.

The Political Affairs Department took over only two political work corps, one printing shop, 17 broadcasting stations and 30 units, such as drama, movie and military bands. As these were very small units, their staff has been transferred to the different detachments of the People's Liberation Army for reform before they are permitted to join the services. These two departments were the first to complete their work.

The rear service department took over a total of 116 units with a force of 7,748 workers, 1,393 employees, 52 students, 227 technicians, 2,599 medical workers, 103 political workers, 9,574 sick and wounded persons, three generals, 392 colonels and 7,697 soldiers, 515 miscellaneous duty employees, 2,954 dependents and 1,440 other professional workers, altogether amounting to 34,697 persons. The rear service department took over enemy supplies, maintenance, repairing, bedsheets and uniforms, and medical organs.

The air force department took over 12 units with 1,220 air force personnel, 1,445 civil air transport personel, 40 air force and aviation experts and technicians. There was more air force equipment kept intact than army equipment and the civil air transport properties were kept even more intact. In addition, 3,349 air force and air transport houses were taken over, of which 1,934 houses were serviceable.

The naval department took over 18 units, 14 warehouses, 82 workmen, 154 technicians, 58 employees and 80 servants. Damage to the naval installations was much heavier than the air force's and there was not a single organ completely intact.

Because of the correctness of our taking-over policy, the substantial effort of the taking-over personnel and the sympathy and assistance rendered by the residents of Shanghai, we have thus successfully completed the first phase of the taking-over in the two months. Our present taking-over has now entered into the second phase; namely, administration and partial reform.

* * *

Basic Activities During Military Control Period

(I) On Municipal Affairs

THE first tasks were to wipe out the remnants of KMT secret agents, to restore peace and order, to maintain social security, to re-enforce traffic regulations, to clear up garbage, to start inoculation campaigns, to send back refugees and aid them, to clear up mud-huts and street hawkers, to re-investigate government premises and to reorganize public works partially damaged by floods.

24,904 mines were removed, over 18,000 pillboxes were demolished, 22,063 stray armed personnel were given shelter (including 2,739 officers), 289 bandit secret agents were rounded up by the Public Security Bureau in June and July, 138 arrested by the Garrison Command, (amounting to a total of 422) of whom 13 were sentenced to death.

Three million and a half local inhabitants were inoculated against cholera,—a figure breaking all previous records. At the beginning of local liberation, 35,000 tons of garbage were cleared. Refugees sent back to their native places numbered 300,000. Traffic accidents in June were 259, but in July the number decreased to 182.

Recently, the government and the army mobilized considerable numbers of their employees and enlisted personnel to assist inhabitants in battling floods. As a result, the losses suffered were considerably reduced during the night of July 24. For instance, when the typhoon hit the city, over 50,000 residents in the suburban areas rushed to the city for aid. Police and the army provided shelter and food.

Our policy was to complete one or several most urgent tasks within one month. When we first came here, we did not know the conditions well while some old employees took a wait-and-see attitude towards us.

This report by Chen Yi covers the initial phase of the takeover of Shanghai. As a record of the past two momentous months, it is, in our opinion, important reading for all who wish to understand how the Chinese revolution is being effected in China's greatest port city.—Editor.

Our taking-over personnel have shown their desire to learn and were very friendly to the old staff. As a result, the old staff began to cooperate with us. We therefore had the chance to learn and complete our tasks successfully. We are beginning to solve the problems which for ages have been considered to be difficult and insoluble by past rulers of Shanghai. We shall march forward with the closest cooperation of the people at large.

(II) Financial and Economic Affairs

Our first tasks were to start exchanging the bogus gold yuan, and the US dollars, to prohibit illegal activities by silver dollar hawkers, to supply coal and food, to start parity deposit rates, to restore land and water communications, to restore railway traffic, to restore shipping, to restore factory production, to adjust taxes and revenues, to readjust public utility charges, to restore foreign trade and foreign exchange control, and to arbitrate in labor disputes with managements. We have closely followed the policy of Chairman Mao Tze-tung, namely, "to develop production, to prosper economy, to benefit both labor and capital and to give equal consideration to public and private interests."

It has been estimated that one more year will be required for the complete liberation of this country while one to two years will be required for the reorganizing of relations between rural and urban districts, interflow of goods, restoration of communications and conquest of famine or flood. We believe a period of two years will be enough for the country to embark upon the road of recovery and rehabilitation.

(III) Cultural and Educational Affairs

After the taking-over of state universities, colleges, academies and municipal middle and primary schools, we did not dismiss the old personnel in all institutions of higher learning, excepting by forming a school administration committee and by abolishing the instructional system and the teaching of KMT party principles and platforms. In the religious schools, we have only abolished courses on religion as a requirement. In the middle schools, only three headmasters were dismissed. On the cultural and fine arts side, we have only prohibited two reactionary films and one humorous play.

Indeed, because of our leniency, there might be chances for those who did not intend to be reformed. But we did not feel afraid, for the might of the people and of democracy is overwhelmingly great. Secondly, our efforts to bring the cultural works in the old liberated areas into this city have been generally speaking very successful.

(IV) Foreign Nationals' Affairs

The Foreign Affairs Department under the Shanghai Military Control Commission has successfully assisted the Foreign Residents Section of the Public Security Bureau.

The basic principle has been set by the Eight Points of Chairman Mao Tze-tung and Commander-in-chief Chu Teh, under which due protection will be given to all law-abiding foreign nationals while punishment will be meted out to those aliens violating the orders and rulings of the People's government.

In meting out punishment for those who are willing to repent, we are prepared to be lenient and deal with them lightly or even exempt them from any punishment. In the past two months, many cases involving foreigners were dealt with according to this principle.

Certain imperialist adventurers have come out into the open to censure the foreigner-protecting work of the People's government in Shanghai in order to fool their own people by creating the impression that the Chinese are anti-foreign. Their accusations are not based on fact. I think their efforts are doomed to failure. The reason is quite obvious. There are more than 40,000 foreigners residing in Shanghai. It is a solid fact that their lives and property have enjoyed full protection. It is also a fact that some foreigners have been duly punished for violating the laws and regulations of the government. It is an undeniable fact that in most cases the punishments meted out were lenient. The Military Control Commission and the People's government cannot be expected to allow foreign nationals to preserve their past special rights on Chinese soil. The period of the imperialists' enjoying special rights in China has disappeared with the downfall of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Foreigners would do well to bear in mind this fact. If their memories are bad, it is timely and necessary that I take this opportunity to remind them once again.

(V) Aiding the Formation of People's Revolutionary Organizations

People's revolutionary organizations are the basis of politics of the New Democracy, but such organizations are to be formed voluntarily by the people themselves. The People's government has no right to interfere with them. Its duty is to help them.

Because of underground organizations, local workers, students, women and cultural workers quickly and easily developed their organizations after liberation. We hope they will have every success in the future. As long as they abide by the regulations during the military control period, the Military Control Commission and the People's government will and must accord them assistance. For instance, the help rendered by local industrial circles to the Military Control Commission and the People's government has been considerable. They should have an organization of their own.

(VI) Some Experiences During Military Control Period

First, the work of taking-over is not a purely administrative or technical matter, but one of the principal political tasks during the transition from the victory of the people's revolutionary activities to the commencement of gigantic reconstruction.

Second, the policy of taking-over is neither hurried nor changeable and is determined by environmental conditions. Our policy must be a realistically revolutionary one, repulsing all attempts of our enemy either towards leftist stimulation or towards rightist inducement.

Third, in the course of the taking-over, we have more clearly learned how inefficient the KMT reactionary ruling class was: many enemy properties handed over three years ago by the Japanese were found still intact but spoiled by the long period of maladministration.

Fourth, the democratic way of mobilizing the public in the taking-over of properties has secured considerable success.

Fifth, we must point out that there have been many setbacks and shortcomings in our work. We must face these shortcomings and try to overcome them.

* * *

Future Activities of the Military Control Commission and the People's Government

(1) As pointed out by Comrade Niao Sui-sha in his political report and the *Giefang Rhbao* editorial on July 27, our main tasks at present include the following six:

(a) effective assistance to the front for the early liberation of the whole of China;

(b) planned and gradual decentralization of population and removal of factories and schools to the interior;

(c) development of industries without dependence upon imperialist economy;

(d) mobilization of people for rural work;

(e) development of communications in the interior for the interflow of goods; and

(f) austerity measures to meet difficulties.

(2) Both the Military Control Commission and the People's government also intend to help consolidate the various people's revolutionary organizations in order to enlarge their representation, to increase democratic discussions and to mobilize the democratic forces among the people for aiding the government.

(3) We plan to increase the efficiency of the government organs in order to meet the requirements of the present revolutionary situation and of the reconstruction of China.

We particularly intend to meet the requirements caused by the enemy blockade.

Here, it is necessary to emphasize the political discipline and the disciplinary way of life of the government workers in the people's state. As such, it is necessary to strengthen the political education and professional education of the government employees by incessantly waging a war against bureaucratic principles and other bad habits and inclinations.

The above is the report on the work in the two months I have delivered on behalf of the Military Control Commission and the People's government. I hope all our delegates will review the report and give us their criticism.

The Chinese Woodcut

Israel Epstein

Reprinted from Masses and Mainstream

NO art form in history has been closer to the course and purposes of the people's struggle than the modern Chinese woodcut. Unique in its origin, it was a weapon from the beginning and is a weapon today.

This woodcut medium was originally developed not by artists but by writers who had been gagged. When the White Terror of Chiang Kai-shek struck at progressive writers in Shanghai in the early 1930's, some of those young men and women looked for a channel through which they could speak directly to the largely illiterate working people of the police-ridden city. They found it in the woodcut, with its graphic representation, inexpensive technique, ease of reproduction and adaptability for poster use. It was these writers unable to write who first learned to carve woodblocks and use them to carry their message.

An early promotor of the new woodcut was the outstanding young short-story writer, Jou Shih. Inspired by the revolutionary prints of Kaethe Kollwitz, he planned to introduce them as a model in China. Jou Shih was arrested and shot by the Kuomintang Gestapo. His intention of exhibiting Kaethe Kollwitz in Shanghai was carried out by the tuberculosis-doomed literary giant, Lu Hsün, the "Chinese Gorky." Lu Hsün's introduction to this first exhibition, dedicated to the memory of Jou Shih, was a noble essay called "Written in Deep Night."

In this essay, Lu Hsün called for use of the woodcut as a sharp sword in the struggle for China's national liberation and progress. At the same time, he saw in Kollwitz a means for bringing to the struggling Chinese people the consciousness that they were not alone, the mighty idea of international working-class solidarity which they could not otherwise acquire in a colonial environment in which every resident "foreigner" was a participant or beneficiary of the imperialist machine that oppressed them.

That the two worlds in conflict was not the European and Asiatic, as it might seem from Shanghai experience, but the oppressed and the oppressors everywhere was the lesson Lu Hsün taught. "Chinese who have not had an opportunity to travel abroad," he wrote, "often have the idea that all white people are either preachers of the ideas of Jesus or well-dressed, well-fed managers of business firms given to the habit of kicking people about. . . . But the works of Kaethe Kollwitz show that the injured and insulted, the friends and allies of the people, exist in very many other places on earth and have among them artists who mourn, protest and fight on our common behalf."

This was the beginning. The early woodcuts were crude in execution,

Refugees, by Wang Chi

but they were, as they have remained, high in conscious will and ideological content. The ever-vigilant Kuomintang police soon caught on and listed woodblocks and cutting tools among the "subversive objects" to be sought in house-to-house searches. The Chinese woodcut enjoys the distinction of being the only art technique ever to be totally proscribed as inimical to the existing order. Between 1932 and the lifting of the ban five years later, many of its practitioners suffered arrest and torture for no other reason than their use of the medium. It was from these depths of obscurantism that the woodcut suddenly emerged, with the anti-Japanese united front in 1937, to the status of a recognized national art which even Kuomintang propagandists abroad pushed heartily thereafter as a sign of "their" national vitality.

But here again we must refer to another unique feature of the Chinese woodcut. Even when it became temporarily respectable, not a single woodcut artist of standing entered the service of reaction and no new one was developed by the Kuomintang's heavily endowed art-propaganda mills to serve its party purposes. After 1939, although Kuomintang publications abroad continued to tout the woodcut in their fraudulent effort to present themselves as the real leaders of national resistance, newspapers and magazines in Chiang Kai-shek's China itself were once again forbidden to print the works of top woodcut artists. Again their products were shown only in brief but heavily-attended exhibitions, occasionally under the "protection" of some highly placed and therefore temporarily inviolate liberal.

Once more the woodcut artists maintained themselves only through organization and communal sharing of meager rations. (There were over 20 groups formed in various parts of China, changing their names frequently, in the various periods of reaction.) So General Joseph W. Stilwell was perfectly apt and right (as so often) in his instinct when, writing to Agnes Smedley to thank her for a US-published collection called "China in Black and White," he commented: "I'd like to get out one entitled 'The Kuomintang in Black and Blue.'" The Chinese people are getting that one out today.

* * *

LOYALTY to the true nation, the determination to speak out only for and to the people, has been the unwavering character of modern Chinese woodcut art during its entire existence. What about the form? Was it allowed to develop "spontaneously" without the constant discussion and criticism that were devoted to its contents? On the contrary, improved technique was unceasingly stressed as a part of the artist's duty to his medium.

A characteristic piece of criticism was written in 1936 by Chen I-wan (Jack Chen):

"Chinese commercial art is prostituted to advertise quack medicines. Our famous modern artists spend most of their time in the company of naked women and goldfish. The classical masters withdraw themselves from the misery of China into a dream world of bamboos, waterfalls, birds and misty mountains. . . .

"The fundamental task of all art in China today is to teach the masses a realistic outlook on the world, to free them from the superstition of feudalism and the propaganda of imperialism, to help them, through the theatre, painting, literature, etc., to understand the modern world so they can decide how to act in their own interests.

"The woodcut artists are consciously attempting to put their art in the forefront of the struggle for national liberation. It is true their work is still very weak. Many of them are too lazy to study carefully from nature, so that the faces of their peasants and workers look like Europeans. Yet far from receiving intelligent criticism and aid from the recognized critics and press, I see them subjected to the most unmerciful treatment."

Another criticism took up the question of foreign models which influenced Chinese graphic artists (woodcut, cartoon, poster). The artists, who were leaning to George Grosz, were taken to task both for their choice of a model and for neglect of positive images even in that dark period which was nonetheless "a time that both calls for and produces heroism." "Grosz is a talented artist," the critic wrote, "but he can only teach one to disclose evils. . . . Grosz cannot see nor can he depict the positive forces of the people that will build and are building a new world. . . . As an aid in attaining a deeper realism, a stronger sense of composition and clarity and

directness of imagery, artists like David Low, Efimov, Fred Ellis and Fitzpatrick are well worth our close study."

Close study, but not slavish imitation. This was stressed again and again as emphasis was placed on the *national* in art. The modern Chinese woodcut did not (as some think) derive in any way from the exquisite Chinese line woodblock illustrations of past centuries, when a brush artist drew the designs and a craftsman cut them into wood. It was a new form, born of the example of Kollwitz and the needs of the people. Only later, emerging from the apprenceship of Kollwitz, it began to assimilate some of the clearline techniques familiar and dear to the people, but on a totally different level. As Yeh Sheng-t'ao says: "Some of the finely-wrought woodcuts are very much like our ancient wood-engravings, but they are not really alike: how could the latter have got such vigor of life?"

* * *

THE woodcuts produced today fall into two clear categories. Artists in the Kuomintang areas continue in the courageous and honorable tradition of combatting the old society. Artists in the Liberated Areas—soon to be all China—celebrate the new awakening of the people. Their work is clear with the clarity of the peoples' new-won freedom to go forward. Its images help the people organize and live in a new way—prints of the people's militia, election, land reform, "heroes of labor," hygiene techniques.

A new genre adapts the ancient traditional "door god" form: the twin matching posters of idols which graced peasant huts not only to ward off "evil spirits" but also to lend a beloved touch of bright color to the all-pervading dusty brown of the typical village. Today, in North China, one sees "door gods" of a new type—the peasant surrounded by the produce of land that is his for the first time, the soldier of the People's Army, the village school teacher, the hero-guardians and creators of the new life who exist not in the fancied other world but in the real one being born. With this genre, joyful color has come back to the Chinese woodcut in whose previous forms Rockwell Kent saw "uncompromising power in black and white that expresses the irreconcilable conflict of right and wrong . . . those who are not with me are against me, the moral conflict of right and wrong."

A far cry from the early passionate, uninstructed efforts of the stifled writers-turned-artists of Lu Hsün's day, the Chinese woodcut today is systematically taught by the best of its still-young veterans and pioneers. Far also from the starving garrets and enforced furtiveness of the oppressed, tubercular Shanghai of former days is the place where the teaching goes on. Standing among the fields of the New China, and with branches in several liberated cities, it is named the Lu Hsün Academy of Arts after the great writer and cultural liberator who fought even in the "Deep Night."

The Week's Business

WHILE the money situation during the week under review remained loose, the commodity prices in general maintained their bearish tendency.

Despite the advent of the mid-August pay day on Monday, money was easy and there was surplus capital on the market. A considerable portion of these funds went to the commercial banks, where deposits more than doubled during the past week. At the People's Bank of China, deposits increased by JMP6,000,000,000 for the period from August 5 to 16. The stabilized commodity prices naturally brought about increased public confidence in the People's currency.

The interest rate offered by commercial banks on short term deposits drifted to below 27 percent per month for a period of seven days, and to 30 percent for a period of 10 days. The curb interest rate on loans in the market came down to between JMP8 and JMP10 per mille per day by August 16 as compared with JMP15 per mille the week before.

With a view to diverting loose funds from the market, the People's Bank started to accept deposits from local commercial and native banks beginning from August 12, with JMP1,000,000 as one unit for deposit at a monthly interest rate of 18 percent for a period of seven days. On the first day, local banks sent in some JMP2,000,000,000,000.

The steady and smooth interflow of supplies between urban and rural areas has not only contributed to the stabilization of commodity prices in Shanghai, but has also maintained stability in the quotations in outports. Of the four essential commodities in the important East China cities from July 20 to August 5, namely yarn, cloth, rice and wheat flour, only the price of wheat flour increased (by 9.7 percent in Pengpu) while all the other quotations were either stable or weak, registering an average decline of 14.7 percent.

Official statistics disclosed that during the month of July, the supplies sent to Shanghai included 21,800,000 catties of rice, 1,207,000 catties of wheat, 202,000 catties of soya beans and 350,000 bags of wheat flour. The Shanghai Trading Company, in return, supplied the outports during the months of June and July with 5,800 pieces of cotton yarn, 154,000 bolts of cotton cloth, 112,000 pieces of hemp bags and a number of other industrial products.

Coordinating the intensified interflow of supplies among the various districts, the People's Bank has increased the number of cities on the domestic remittance list to a total of 103, covering the 12 districts in south and north Kiangsu, east and north Kiangsi, south Hupeh, Tientsin and Peiping. The People's Bank has also redoubled its efforts to collect funds in outports on behalf of local interests. This is aiding local industrial and trade circles collect supplies and market their products in the outports.

In the bearish commodity markets, the price of rice still led the list of declines, averaging JMP1,000 to JMP3,000 per picul. This was brought about chiefly by the abundant supply from the producing areas. Farmers in the neighboring areas are reported to have been bringing in large quantities of their new rice crop to Shanghai in exchange for bean cakes and fertilizer. Encouraging reports are also being received here from Kiangsi and Anhwei that, notwithstanding the flood, the current crop is comparable to that of the last year.

For the week ending August 13, the wholesale price index of essential commodity prices and export supplies averaged decreases of from two to four percent daily, according to a market review in the *Giefang Rhbao*. For the week, the wholesale price index of essential commodities went down by 7.4 percent, and export supplies by 8.6 percent.

The drop in the retail price index was more mild. Generally speaking, the quotations of most agricultural products, such as rice, edible oil and so forth registered considerable decreases. Medium grade *pai keng*, for instance, went down from JMP45,500 per picul on August 10 to JMP39,000 per picul on August 16. The quotations of industrial products averaged fractional gains, with 21's Twin Horse rising by 3.03 percent during the week ending August 13.

Reflecting the downward trend in commodity prices, the unit quotation for the parity deposit units also dropped heavily. On August 17, the rate was JMP779, as against JMP867 on August 10, marking a decrease of JMP88 for the one week period.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	August 10 JMP	August 17 JMP
Silver Dollar	1,600	1,600
20's Yarn	575,000	565,000
12-lb. Cloth	27,750	27,250
Rice	53,500	48,000
Peanut Oil	64,000	60,000
Coal Briquette	7,000	7,000

NEWS OF THE WEEK

PLA Tallies Up More Victories; Elections Held In West Germany

MORE spectacular victories were scored by the People's Liberation Army during the past week in its thrusts in Central and Northwest China. As we pointed out in a previous issue of the *Review*, the dramatic turn in the military situation in Hunan province as the result of the defection of General Cheng Chien, governor of the province, has rendered the position of the remnant Kuomintang forces in South China untenable. Following the example of Governor Cheng Chien, several local Kuomintang commanders are reported to have surrendered with their peace preservation corps to the People's Liberation Army, which captured Anhua, Ningsiang, Siangtan, Sinhua and Yuhsien in the past week. It is quite apparent that in addition to wiping out the Kuomintang armed forces around Tungting Lake, the People's Liberation Army is steadily converging on the Canton-Hankow railway line in southern Hunan.

In Hupeh, the People's Liberation Army liberated Hingshan and Tzekwei which are located north of the Yangtze River near the Hupeh-Szechuen border. With the exception of nine counties in the southwest, including Patung, Enshih and Wufeng, the whole of Hupeh province has been liberated. All in all, 56 counties are now in the hands of the People's Liberation Army.

In Kiangsi, the People's Liberation Army is driving deep into the southern part of the province, having liberated Hingkuo and Yutu. The fall of Kanchow, the seat of the refugee Kiangsi provincial government, is expected momentarily. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Hingkuo was one of the old Soviet districts the Chinese Communists had built up in Kiangsi before their long march to the northwest. The return of the People's Liberation Army to its old base in Kiangsi is of historical significance. According to press reports, farmers in Kiangsi are jubilant because "Chairman Mao's men are back."

In Fukien, the People's Liberation Army has liberated Yungtai and is now only a few miles from Foochow, the provincial capital.

In the northwest, the People's Liberation Army has inflicted more losses on Kuomintang forces under the command of Hu Chung-nan and the Ma generals. With the liberation of Yenchih, all the counties captured by the Kuomintang armies in the Shensi Kansu-Ningsia Liberated Area since 1946 have been liberated. The First Field Army of the People's Liberation Army under the command of General Peng Teh-huai is forging ahead into Kansu. The sensational successes of the People's Liberation Army in the northwest during the past three weeks have caused considerable alarm and defeatism among the Kuomintang generals. It is reported that General Ma Pu-fang, generally regarded as the senior of the Mohammedan generals of the Ma family, fled to Canton by air on August 9 to make personal appeals to Li Tsung-jen and Yen Hsi-shan for reinforcements to save the situation in the various provinces in the northwest. However, as the situation stands today, it seems doubtful that the refugee Government in Canton will be able to send any reinforcements to the northwest.

In fact, South China, and particularly Kwangtung, is badly in need of reinforcements. Well-informed sources in Hongkong disclosed that recently 50,000 Kuomintang troops have been transferred from Hainan Island to northern Kwangtung in anticipation of the impending drive of the People's Liberation Army from Hunan and Kiangsi.

One of the remarkable features of the successful march of the People's Liberation Army in Hunan and Kiangsi is the coordinated operations of the local partisan units with the offensive of the People's Liberation Army. Thanks to the help of the native irregulars, the People's Liberation Army has been able to surprise and defeat the fleeing Kuomintang forces.

* * *

Pacific Union Moves

THE past week has thrown more light on the behind-the-scenes moves concerning the formation of a Pacific Union to "contain communism" in the Far East. The Philippine President, Elpidio Quirino, is now back in Manila after his recent visit to Washington to confer with leaders of the United States Government on the situation in the Far East. A communique issued by President Truman and President Quirino stressed they had only discussed "measures for the reinforcement and development of Philippine economy." Quirino also told a press conference: "I am not here to organize a Pacific Union. Mine is a goodwill visit. . . . A Pacific Union could not be discussed on American soil."

But both President Truman and President Quirino have short memories. In a statement issued from the White House on August 11, President Truman, commenting on Quirino's visit to Washington, assured the Philippines of "all feasible assistance" and told the peoples of Asia that the United States would watch with sympathy their efforts to maintain their ideals.

Back in Manila, Secretary of National Defense Ruperto Jangleon revealed August 14 that one of the main purposes of President Quirino's trip to Washingon was to secure more military aid from the United States under the military assistance pact between the two countries.

Quirino, while in New York, expressed gratification at two things that had occurred during his tour: introduction of a bi-partisan resolution in the House of Representatives proposing the establishment of a Marshall Plan for the Pacific and Australia's reported interest in the Pacific Union.

Accepting an honorary degree of Doctor of Law at Fordham University August 14, Quirino said that his nation is leading the battle against Communism in Asia just as America is doing among nations of the west. He stressed that his island republic has taken the initiative in developing common action in the Far East against this totalitarian advance.

American newspapers made no secret of the fact that Quirino was in the States "selling" the idea of a Pacific Union to United States Government leaders and especially the Pentagon boys. Many leading papers pointed out that Quirino's visit to Washington was connected with the present troubled situation in the Far East. The *New York Times* editorialized:

"We are all troubled and somewhat confused about things that are happening in Asia these days and it is a comfort to have someone from that part of the world with whom we can talk freely in the full understanding that we want the same good things for ourselves and for each other. Our community of interest with the Philippines has been long established. . . ."

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A TRIAL WILL HIGHLY CONVINCE

In Chinese Magazines . . .

Economics Weekly

THE *Economics Weekly* of July 28, 1949 discusses the much-talked-about problem of the blockade. As regards the causes for the blockade, the magazine writes:

"Shanghai before the liberation was the strongest bastion of imperialist control of China's economy, the foremost base of operations of the bureaucratic capitalists and the Kuomintang reactionaries in their exploitation of the people, the paradise of speculators and profiteers, and the mecca of all counter-revolutionary forces.

"The liberation brought a right about face for Shanghai. The people have come into their own, and have expelled the imperialists, the bureaucratic capitalists, and the Kuomintang reactionaries.

"The imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries will naturally not let the matter rest as it is. They will put up a desperate struggle. It takes the form of economic blockade. The imperialists, through the Kuomintang reationaries are blockading Shanghai, obstructing the interflow of material supplies between different areas, and undermining the organic union of urban and rural economies, so that Shanghai will not have access to adequate supplies. The scheme is an appropriately diabolical one."

* * *

ALTHOUGH the present blockade may add to the difficulties confronting Shanghai, it is doomed to failure in the long run, the magazine concludes. It points out:

"But this attempt will fail to halt the revolutionary advance. Temporary difficulties may be encountered, but they will only serve to consolidate the people's confidence in the revolution, their determination to expel the imperialists thoroughly and to wipe out the Kuomintang bandits more quickly, so that an independent and sovereign New China may be speedily established.

"The imperialist economic blockade is enforced through the Kuomintang bandits. The remnant Kuomintang Navy is used to blockade the coast. The remnant Air Force is used to bomb communication facilities indiscriminately. The remnant feudal influences in the rural areas are exploited by the bandit agents to obstruct the development of the interflow of supplies between cities and rural areas.

"But since the blockade is exercised through the Kuomintang bandits, once the armed strength of these bandits is completely smashed, and the liberated areas are further extended, the psychological effects will vanish, and supplies will be available from the rural areas in increasing quantities. For this reason, it is necessary to give the fullest possible support to the front so that the Liberation Army will reach Canton, Taiwan, and Sinkiang soon."

* * *

AS counter-measures against the blockade, the magazine makes the following suggestions:

"During the period of blockade, efforts must be made to promote a greater interflow of supplies between cities and rural areas. The People's Government has been exerting commendable efforts in this connection. The State trading companies in various liberated areas are establishing a closer contact with the Shanghai General Trading Company, and products are being sent to Shanghai in exchange for industrial products . . ."

"The working class in all industries are launching an anti-blockade movement. Many plants left unattended formerly by the Kuomintang bandits have resumed production and in others production increases are being reported steadily.

"In coordination with industrial production development, the increase of agricultural production is also being attended to. For only with the development of production in the rural areas will the supplies needed by the industrial establishments in the cities be increased. The call has been issued for the repatriation of former rural populations which are in a position to return to their former rural occupations now that Kuomintang oppression no longer exists.

"There is also the irrational situation of over-concentration of industry in Shanghai. Geographically speaking, Shanghai is more suited to act as a commercial metropolis than as an industrial center. Its development as an industrial city has been the result of the economic aggression of imperialism in the last 100 years. There is a lot of wastage in this unreasonable over-concentration of industry in Shanghai, a noticeable example being furnished in the fact that wheat produced in the northern areas has to be brought to the south for milling operations while the flour produced is ultimately sent back to the north again for consumption. This unsatisfactory situation must now be rectified.

"The progress of revolutions must be attended by difficulties, but the difficulties now confronting us must lead us to greater determination and decision to overcome them. The time has come when we must put into practice the adage of 'building a strong nation in the midst of tribulations.'"

The *Herald-Tribune* agreed: "President Quirino has arrived in this country at a moment when we are in dismay over the ill success of our Chinese policy and when the whole problem of our Far Eastern relations is under serious review . . . Mr. Quirino was quietly persuasive in stating to the Senate his hopes for a Pacific Pact, to which the United States, if not initially a member, could lend its support. The idea involves many complications, but it is time at least to realize its importance and to understand that in the independent Philippine Republic we have assets of friendship and good will not lightly to be overlooked as we face the difficult problems which the Far East presents. . . ."

* * *

Serious Obstacles

IN spite of mounting talk about a Pacific Union, well-informed observers point out that there are serious obstacles in the way. For one thing, the sweeping victories of the People's Liberation Army and the fast crumbling of the Kuomintang regime in China, the ever-increasing revolutionary struggles of the peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Far East for their national independence and liberation pose serious difficulties. For another, the contradiction between the United States and Britain also reflects itself in affairs in the Far East. There is evidence of the beginning of a struggle for power between countries such as the Philippines and Korea, which are closely tied to the United States, and Burma and India, which are in the British sphere. Neither group wants to see the other assume leadership in a Pacific Union.

Burmese Foreign Minister U Maung told newspaper reporters in New York that Burma would probably be willing to join in a Pacific Union similar to the Atlantic Pact "if the union was sponsored by the right people and at the right moment." Asked to say who were the right people, Mr. Maung replied: "Those who sincerely believe in such a union and have no axe to grind."

In plain English, the Burmese are openly suspicious of the motives of Quirino and company in advocating the formation of a Pacific Union. India and the other Malayan countries are taking the same view. Quirino told the press in Washington that his government was sounding out the nations of southeast Asia to find out which of them are interested in a Pacific Union. He further disclosed that he was prepared to send Romulo to India to see Premier Jawaharlal Nehru about the Pacific Union if necessary.

* * *

West German Elections

DESPITE vigorous protests, the United States, Britain and France went ahead with their plan for holding general elections in west Germany to set up a parliament of the new German Federal Republic. German voters went to the polls to elect 400 deputies to the

Bundestag, or lower house of parliament, which will meet at Bonn early in September to set up a government and to choose, together with the representatives of the provincial parliaments of west Germany, the president of the new republic.

As had been generally anticipated, the conservative parties won with the anti-Socialist, church-supported Christian Democrats heading the list. Distribution of seats in the Lower House of the Legislature is as follows:

Christian Democrats	139
Social Democrats	131
Free Democrats	52
Communists	15
Bavarian Party	17
Center Party	10
German Party	17
Economic Reconstruction Party	12
German right parties	5
Independents	3
South Schleswig Association	1

The American High Commissioner, Mr. John F. McCloy, said the results of the general election were very "gratifying." He told the press: "It is good to have elections and good to have them over."

Herr Max Reimann, Communist leader in West Germany, commented: "The future western German government will only be a government by the grace of the Western Allied high commissioners. Whatever the structure of the future coalition government, it will act only in the interest of foreign monopoly capitalism."

The German people were cool and indifferent to the elections. According to press reports: "The election campaign has been met with apparent apathy by the vast majority of the electorate, and increasing nationalism by the main party leaders."

What Chinese Papers Say . . .

THE American White Paper on China drew much editorial comment in the Chinese press, which was unanimous in denouncing the document as a frank admission of the designs of the United States government against China.

* * *

White Paper

TYPICAL of the Chinese viewpoint, the Communist *Hsin Hua News Agency* pointed out that the Chinese people should learn two lessons from the White Paper. It said among other things:

"The first basic lesson to be learned is the deep-rooted hostility of the American imperialist government toward China's national interests and the democratic forces of the Chinese people. The American White Paper does not in the least hide the imperialist aggressive stand of the United States government, which blatantly declares that it is impossible for it to refrain from interfering in China's internal affairs because this would run counter to its so-called policy of safeguarding China's unity and territorial integrity. In other words, the United States government holds that it must protrude into China's domestic affairs and regard China as a protectorate before China can have what the United States government calls unity and territorial integrity.

"Based on such Hitlerite dogmatism, the United States government for obvious reasons exerted all efforts in aiding Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang to enable it to establish its authority in as wide areas as possible in China even though the United States government admitted that Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang is a gang of reactionaries who were indistinguishable from the warlords of the past and whose government has lost popular support.

". . . American imperialism is the irreconcilable enemy of the Chinese people. Hence the Chinese people should learn a second lesson from the White Paper. The Chinese people must continue to resist and be on guard against any intervention and provocation by the enemy (American imperialism) and must not fall into any trap laid by this enemy. We must not do anything the enemy likes."

* * *

DISCUSSING the general principles of American policy, the *Hsin Hua News Agency* continued:

"But even though the United States government has given up all hope for the Kuomintang, it will never give up its continued intervention and aggression against China. Secretary of State Acheson has openly announced that the United States will encourage the growth of every influence opposing the people's democracy in China. On August 6, the day after the White Paper was made public, Acheson made a special statement in which he outlined the general principles of American policy in China. Stripped of their diplomatic trimmings, these principles would be the following:

"1. The United States government is ready to use every means at its disposal to encourage reducing China into an American colony so that China will play the role of puppet for American imperialism in international affairs.

"2. The United States government is willing to help China establish an economic and political environment which will safeguard the rights of the agents of American imperialism and develop step by step a colonial economy tied to America and beneficial to the welfare of the compradore class.

"3. The United States government will continue to consult other imperialist countries having colonies in the Far East about the measures to be taken for upholding their imperialist prerogatives.

"5. The United States will apply pressure to the United Nations in order to compel the latter to help achieve the above-mentioned objectives."

As regards Acheson's talk about Sino-American friendship, the *Hsin Hua News Agency* commented:

"The White Paper futilely and piously talks about Sino-American friendship. This friendship actually exists and will continue to exist between the Chinese and American peoples, because the American people have no need for engaging in aggression against China.

"Even Acheson could not but admit that the American people are opposed to the aggressive actions of the United States government. In his letter to President Truman, Acheson said that further American intervention in China would evoke the indignation of the Chinese people and meet with the condemnation of the American people."

Then the *Hsin Hua News Agency* concluded:

"To sum up, the American White Paper is a master-piece of double talk. It convinces the Chinese people of the imperialist countenance of the American government. It teaches the Chinese people that it is necessary to carry on the struggle against American imperialism. The White Paper is a historical record of the complete bankruptcy of the reactionary policy of American imperialism in China. Therefore, it is an outstanding contribution to the struggle of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world against imperialism . . ."

The Review's English Lesson XCIII

Use of Conjunctions

OUR text is taken from an editorial in last week's *Review*, "U. S. White Paper:"

> . . . Acheson says, "Our policy at that time (during Marshall's Mission) was inspired by the two objectives of bringing peace to China under conditions which would permit stable government and progress along democratic lines, and of assisting the National Government to establish its authority over as wide areas of China as possible."
>
> It seems to us that right here is where American policy foundered in that it was based on an essentially false assumption. How, we wonder, could anyone imagine that a person could serve with any success as a mediator when at the same time he was admittedly trying to strengthen the position of one of the contending parties? Another faulty bit of logic appears when Acheson says that America tried to promote peace and progress along democratic lines while helping the KMT to extend its authority over as much of China as possible. To anyone with knowledge of how the Kuomintang worked, it was long obvious that you could not have both democracy and the KMT. If a condition of democracy prevailed, the Kuomintang would have automatically been excluded. Conversely, there could be no democracy in areas ruled by the KMT. The terms could be said to be mutually exclusive. . .

Was inspired by: Was animated, or motivated, by.

Two objectives of . . . and of: Two objectives naturally lead the reader to expect the naming or description of two things; repetition of the preposition helps to make clear the separation between them, as here, where each requires a lengthy clause.

Right here. At this point; "right" in this case is used as an intensive. "Right now": just now, at this very moment.

Foundered: To fall helplessly, as a horse; to fill with water and sink, as a ship; to become dismayed, dumfounded. Here the sense is, "failed ignominiously."

In that: Because, for the reason that.

How, we wonder. . . ? This sentence is in the form of a "rhetorical question": the writer uses this means to emphasize the point that a "mediator" must be disinterested.

Faulty bit of logic: False reasoning.

It was long obvious: It was, or had been, apparent for a long time.

If a condition of democracy prevailed. . . : If real democracy had existed; or, (anywhere in China that) democracy existed. . . .

Would have automatically been excluded: The verb here is, "would have been excluded"; the adverb should not, strictly speaking, separate parts of the verb. "Would have been excluded automatically" would be better.

Conversely: Turned about; reversed in order

Mutually exclusive: Negating each other; a condition which, described by one term, cannot at the same time be described by its opposite. Thus, a white object cannot be black.

THIS passage also illustrates the use of several conjunctions. A conjunction is used to connect words or groups of words, and implies or specifies the relationships between the words or groups of words that they connect. For example, the relationship might be causality: in the above text, we have the sentence, "It seems to us. . . . American policy foundered in that it was based on (a) . . . false assumption." "American policy foundered" is a complete sentence, as is "It was based on (a) false assumption." However, although the reader might understand the causal relationship implied in these two sentences, the writer makes this explicit by joining them with the conjunction "in that." The policy failed because it was based on a false assumption.

The simplest relationship between words might be termed the "additive" or "plus" relationship, indicated by the conjunction "and." In the above text, the first sentence contains the phrase, "government and progress," object of the verb "permit." Permit what? Two things, joined by "and."

"But" is used to indicate exception, as in "All the books but one were burned."

"That," as a conjunction, is used chiefly to introduce a clause employed as object, subject, or predicate nominative of a verb. In the above, . . . "imagine *that* a person could serve . . . ," and . . . "Acheson says *that* America tried to promote peace and progress. . ." It is also used to introduce a clause giving a reason, cause, result, etc.: "He arranged that it would happen according to his schedule."

"When" usually indicates a time relationship, as in the above, "Another faulty bit of logic appears *when* Acheson says. . ." But it can also indicate possibility (in the event that), as in, "*When* in doubt, consult the dictionary."

"While" also indicates time: during the time that, or at the same time as; in the text, ". . . America tried to promote peace and progress . . . *while* helping the KMT to extend its authority. . ."

"If" is a conjunction used to introduce a condition or supposition: in case that; granting, allowing, or supposing that. "*If* a condition of democracy prevailed. . . ."

Sometimes conjunctions are used in pairs, when they are called correlative conjunctions. "China must rid herself of *both* feudalism *and* colonialism." "You must decide if you will be *either* slaves *or* freemen." "China wants *not only* to rid herself of feudalism, *but also* to build a strong, independent nation."

Conjunctions, either single words, as "and," "but," "or," etc., or phrases, as "as if," "as soon as," etc., or correlative, as "either . . . or," may be either coordinating or subordinating. The former group joins two words, phrases or clauses of the same grammatical rank, as two nouns: either is independent and could stand alone. The subordinating conjunctions introduce a clause which depends upon another for its meaning: "Although it was late, we finished the job."

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